

MEHMET SHEHU

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WILL NEVER BUDGE FROM ITS
REVOLUTIONARY POSITIONS**

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Speech delivered on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of the Proclamation of National Independence and the 33rd anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland (Vlora, November 29, 1977).

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Dear comrades,

Brothers and sisters,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the Government, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and of the leader of our Party and people, comrade Enver Hoxha personally, I bring you the most fervent revolutionary greetings and wish you many, many happy returns of the great festivals — the 65th anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence of the Homeland and the 33rd anniversary of the Liberation of the country from the fascist occupiers.

Vlora has become the symbol of our people's love for freedom, patriotism, heroism, courage, fidelity, because the people of Vlora have always distinguished themselves by the blood they have shed for freedom and independence, for social justice. It is the Vlora of November 28, 1912, where the great and wise patriot Ismail Qemali hoisted the national flag and proclaimed the independence of Albania after 500 years of savage slavery under the barbarous Ottoman domination; it is the Vlora of 1920, when Selam Musai's stout fighters «seized the cannon by the muzzle», fought

with unexampled heroism «against a 40 million-strong kingdom» and drove Victor Emmanuel's army into the sea; it is the Vlora of the thunders and storms of the National Liberation War and the people's revolution, when all the people of Vlora, of the city and countryside, old and young, men and women, aged people and children, rose up in arms, responding to the call of the Communist Party, and united to a man round it, turned their region into a hell for the enemy. Blood was shed in torrents and the Italian and German occupiers and the Ballists sold out to them knew only defeat, they were wiped out or driven away once and for all from our sacred soil.

All Albania is like Vlora, all the Albanian people have fought like the people of Vlora. Vlora is heroic, because the entire Albanian people are heroic. The Proclamation of Independence in 1912 was the crowning of the heroic struggle not only of the people of the region of Vlora, but of all the Albanian people, of the struggles of the Albanian people for liberation, freedom and independence throughout the country.

Isa Boletini of legendary Kosova was the right hand of Ismail Qemali who hoisted the national flag, and with Isa Boletini were all the heroic Albanian people of Kosova. Therefore, today, with revolutionary greetings not only to all the Albanian people of socialist Albania, but also to all our brothers of Kosova and the other Albanian brothers of Macedonia and Montenegro, as well as to all the other Albanian patriots wherever they are,

wishing them many happy returns of the festival of November 28. Our blood and theirs is the same, we are one people, one nation. Hasan Prishtina was a member of Ismail Qemali's Vlora Government of 1913. Up to these days, his remains were lying in foreign soil, in Salonica. Thanks to the solicitude of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, our Government brought them home. Now they are in Tirana and will soon rest in a worthy place. This shows that the Party never forgets but on the contrary always honours those who have fought for the freedom of the people. On this occasion, we thank the Greek Government for its readiness and unreserved assistance in finding and bringing the mortal remains of the outstanding patriot Hasan Prishtina to Albania. Such gestures and acts bring peoples and states closer together, create an atmosphere of understanding, strengthen the correct relations of mutual respect and good neighbourliness.

The hoisting of the national flag and the Proclamation of Independence in Vlora 65 years ago were not a fortuitous historic act, but the result of the centuries-long struggles of the Albanian people for freedom and independence, for their land and their language, for their vital rights as a people and as a nation. In the course of the centuries, many storms have swept over the Albanian soil, from the invasion of the Romans, the migrations of the barbarians and the Slaves, the invasion of the Ottoman hordes, down to the interventions of the Western imperialists, of the chauvinist gangs of the neighbouring countries, and later, of the Italian

fascist and German nazi occupiers. The history of the Albanian people is written in blood.

In the course of centuries the Albanian people have always fought not to occupy the land of others, but to defend their own land and honour. They have always been the victims of recurring foreign aggressions; although their enemies have always been superior in number and more powerful in means, nevertheless they have never succeeded in subjugating the smaller Albanian people. This proves the great vitality of our people. It is this vitality, expressed in the manly determination of our people and their steel-like will to defend their freedom, their land, their honour, their language and their good customs, that has saved the Albanian nation from extinction in the ruthless storms of the times and enabled Albania to come out triumphant from these storms, with the red flag in her hand, with the Party of Labour of Albania at the head, and march today with her firm and irresistible militant step on the road to socialism and communism.

The legendary epic of Scanderbeg in the 15th century showed the whole world that a people, no matter how small in number, when they are correctly led and fight for a just cause, can win even over an enemy many times greater in number, even in conditions of complete encirclement when they are obliged to rely only on their own forces. No foreign state helped Scanderbeg in his 25 years-long war against the Ottoman hordes, all those who promised him their assistance and alliance eventually betrayed him. But despite all this, Scanderbeg did not yield. He never ceased fight-

ing and always came off victorious, both in the field of battle and against the intrigues of the foreign powers.

Today, too, Scanderbeg's example is for us, the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania, which is leading the people on the road to socialism, a source of inspiration and optimism. This great historic example fills us with courage and determination to march unwaveringly on our correct road to socialism and communism, in the extremely complicated international conditions of the present-day imperialist-revisionist blockade, in conditions of complete siege, when we must weather the imperialist and revisionist storm relying only on our own forces.

In the historic wake of Scanderbeg's legendary epic followed innumerable uprisings in the various regions of Albania, up to the uprisings of the poor peasantry against the Ottoman occupiers and the Tanzimat reforms, which were led by Zenel Gjoleka and Rrapo Hekali and other heroes, and the battles of the units of the armed insurgents of Themistokli Germenji, Spiro Bellkameni and Çerçiz Topulli, Dedë Gjo Luli and Isa Boletini, which constitute only some of the links in the endless chain of the armed struggles of our people for freedom and which led to the general Albanian uprising of 1912, which was crowned with the historic victory of November 28.

The great movement of our national Renaissance, brilliantly represented in the allround, tireless and selfless activity of the outstanding patriots, thinkers and fighters of the pen and rifle, Abdyl, Naim and Sami Frashëri, Naum Veqilharxhi and

Kostandin Kristoforidhi, Ismail Qemali, Hasan Prishtina, Luigj Gurakuqi and many others — this light-giving movement in the bosom of the Albanian nation, constitutes one of the most brilliant chapters in the struggle and efforts of our people for freedom and independence.

But the Proclamation of National Independence and the founding of the independent Albanian State, despite its great historic importance, could not bring the people complete victory, for which they had shed their blood over the centuries. The internal enemies, the feudal chiefs and merchants of flags, who had made the selling of the Homeland their profession, tried by all manner of means to rob the people of the fruits of their bloodshed. While the imperialist powers and the chauvinistic circles of the neighbouring states hatched up plots and acted secretly behind-the-scenes for the partition of Albania, our people did not give up arms, but continued their struggle against the feudal-bourgeois reaction and against the imperialists and chauvinists of the neighbouring states, too. The defence of Albanian territories, the uprising of the peasants of Middle Albania, led by the hero of the poor peasantry, Haxhi Qamili, the 1920 Vlora epic, the development of the movement of revolutionary democrats, who were inspired by the ideas of Lenin and the great October Revolution, such as Avni Rustemi, Mihal Grameno, and others, and the democratic-bourgeois revolution of the year 1924 — all these are clear testimony to the ceaseless struggle and heroic efforts of our people for the defence of national sovereignty and for

social progress in the period following the year 1912.

The violent suppression of the 1924 revolution by Ahmet Zog and the mercenaries the Yugoslavia of the Karageorgevich had put at his disposal, and the establishment in our country of the anti-popular, anti-national, sanguinary and obscurantist regime of this sold-out satrap, was another period of darkness and slavery in the history of our people, but at the same time it was also a period of incessant struggles for social liberation and the independence of the Homeland. And when Ahmet Zog ransacked Albania's treasury and took to his heels like a frightened rabbit, when Mussolini's armies attacked Albania on April 7, 1939, the Albanian people, although betrayed and abandoned, dejected and unarmed, did not yield, but met the Italian fascist occupiers with bullets, as becomes the Albanian. The Albanian people have always received the enemy in this manner. Glory to our heroic people, who have never begged their freedom of others, but have won and defended it with their own blood!

The founding of the Communist Party of Albania on November 8, 1941 by comrade Enver Hoxha, marked a decisive turning point in the history of our people. For the first time our people had at the head a leadership which had emerged from their bosom, loyal to the end to the supreme interests of the people and Homeland, courageous and capable of leading the people to triumph over all their enemies, external and internal, a leadership enlightened by the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Under the leadership of the Party, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, our people wrote down

the most glorious epic in their history — the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, and on November 29, 1944 achieved their complete victory over the foreign Italian and German occupiers and the traitors to the country, liberated the Homeland, established the dictatorship of the proletariat and set Albania on the road of the construction of socialism, on the road of the magnificent victories of which we are proud today. It was the Party which took our people from slavery to freedom, brought them from darkness into light, from poverty and misery to wellbeing and prosperity. Glory to our beloved Party and its leader, comrade Enver Hoxha!

The 33-years long period from November 29, 1944 to this day, is the period of the complicated struggle of our Party and people for the construction of socialism in extremely difficult conditions. We have always clashed with the enemies, we have always come across innumerable difficulties and obstacles but have always emerged triumphant. We faced and won over the bourgeoisie and reaction, we foiled the plot of the Yugoslav revisionists who aimed to liquidate the independence of Albania; we did away with illiteracy, malaria, syphilis, tuberculosis; we affronted marshes and swamps, the dampness of the winter and the drought of the summer and won — today we are entirely self-sufficient in bread grain, having done away with hunger once and for all; we grappled with furious and dangerous rivers and forced them to give us light and grain; we clashed with the diversionists dispatched in large numbers to Albania by the imperialists and revisionists and annihilated all of them; we did away with the backward customs,

conservatism and obscurantist religion; we uncovered and foiled the plots of US imperialism, British imperialism and many other states to overthrow the people's power and to restore capitalism in Albania; we foiled the great plot of Khrushchev and his modern revisionist lackeys; we dismantled the naval base of Soviet social-imperialists at Vlora; smashed and liquidated the internal deviators and saboteurs who were in the service of the external enemy, etc. In all these classes we have come off triumphant. This owes to the correct Marxist-Leninist road of our Party, to the correct leadership of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, the unity of the people round the Party, the work, sweat and blood of the people. All the good was done by ourselves, with our own forces, with our sweat; all the evil over which we have always triumphed was done by our numerous internal enemies and external enemies who eventually «smashed their heads» against socialist Albania, as a folk song has it.

Today, Albania flourishes and advances on the socialist road. It is free of any oppression and exploitation, it knows no crises and unemployment, no price-rises and inflation, no decadence and degeneration. Today we have electric light in every house of the country, we have free of charge medical service for all the people; the doors of schools are open to all, relations in production are fully socialist; we have a relatively powerful socialist economy, which ensures the gradual increase of the standard of living of the people and extended socialist reproduction with higher rates than in any capitalist state; we have a defence capable of defeating any aggressor who

would dare touch our sacred borders; as a people, as a state and as a Party, we have a great international prestige and numerous friends throughout the world.

The foreign policy of Albania is a just policy, a policy based on proletarian internationalism in the relations with the socialist states, on the principles of peaceful coexistence with the states with social orders different from our socialist order, a policy of good neighbourliness with our neighbours, and of solidarity with the struggle of the peoples for liberation, against imperialism and social-imperialism.

History and the centuries-long struggles have taught our people to tell their friends from their foes, to draw a clear demarcation line between themselves and their friends on the one hand, and the enemies on the other. History has taught our people never to trust the hypocritical smiles of the enemies and never be intimidated and yield in face of their threats, but always keep vigilance and their weapons sharp, and never show the enemy their back, but always their breasts. We must love the friend and hate the enemy; we must not stretch our hand to the enemy, but rely on our own forces; we must not give an inch to the enemy, because then he takes a yard; we must firmly hold the pick and the rifle; generation after generation we must keep the pledge we took when the Party was founded, to march always on the socialist and communist road and against anyone who would be against this road, — the hitherto history of our people and Party has given us these valuable lessons. And we will never violate these lessons.

Article 28 of the Constitution of the PSR of Albania says: «The granting of concessions to,

and the creation of, foreign economic and financial companies and other institutions or ones formed jointly with bourgeois and revisionist capitalist monopolies and states, as well as obtaining credits from them are prohibited in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania». This is how history taught us to act, in order not to betray the people, Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism. Up to now, no state in the world dared to include such an article in its Constitution. On the contrary, the laws of the capitalist countries and those where the revisionists have come to power set urgent tasks for opening the doors to foreign capital. This means to pave the road for slavery.

The present-day Soviet Union is no longer the Soviet Union of the time of Lenin and Stalin, it is already fully transformed into a capitalist country, even into a social-imperialist country thirsty for economic and military expansion, exporting capitals and arms and hatching up intrigues and plots to enslave the peoples, importing US, German, French, Italian, Japanese capital, etc. The satellites of Soviet social-imperialism, too, are doing the same thing. Revisionist degeneration and capitalist restoration are quite clear, especially in the example of Yugoslavia.

Life, practice, shows that no good has ever come from the dollar, the ruble, or other currencies of the capitalist and revisionist countries, when one has stretched his hand out for them. Wherever the capital of the imperialist countries penetrates, especially the capital, weapons and «advisers» of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, it brings along slavery, irresistibly growing debts which soon turn into

a stranglehold that kills you. This, however, will never be allowed to occur in socialist Albania, and Article 28 of our Constitution is also a sacred behest of the present generations to the coming ones: whoever endeavours to violate this Article will have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the freedom and independence of the Homeland, and the people will ruthlessly and unfailingly mete out to him the punishment he deserves.

The Party has always had in the centre of its attention the education of the new man. The education of the new man by the Party is made on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and through the class struggle against the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, against any alien manifestation within our ranks, in struggle with imperialism and revisionism, with reaction, so as to ensure the continuity of the socialist road in our country and to assist the cause of the revolution and national and social liberation of all the peoples. Our Party educates our new man with the loftiest and most positive virtues of our people, fidelity, the Albanian's *Bessa*, his Word of Honour, being the main one.

The Albanian's *Bessa*, in the positive sense of the word, is so powerful that it has created the most magnificent legend, the legend of the Word of Honour. This legend is the reflection and synthesis of the lofty virtue which characterizes our people in their fidelity, in keeping their word of honour, making the impossible for its realization, as the legend goes.

We the Albanian communists and our entire people have given our great word of honour to Marx,

Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and our Party and people will keep this word today and forever, generation after generation, ready and determined to make any sacrifice, to do the impossible, in order to defend the party line, Marxism-Leninism. Those who think and hope that the Albanians will not live up to their word and the Albanian communists may come back on their pledge of loyalty towards Marxism-Leninism, are gravely mistaken and history will cover them with shame.

No pressure, blackmail, blockade, intrigue or plot could and can make our Party deviate from its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line in the slightest. Our internal and external enemies have worked a great deal in this direction, but they have always failed. We do well now and have documents as to where the threads of the putschist plot of Beqir Balluku, Abdyl Kellezi and others who wanted to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania and establish here a bourgeois-revisionist rule, lead: these threads go far away, beyond the Albanian borders. Even this plot could not force the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people to breach their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to give up the socialist road! Bear this in mind, Messrs. plotters! Albania is a hard bone as sharp as a knife which sticks in the throat of whoever tries to bite at or swallow it.

Comrades,

The current situations in the world are fraught with great social upheavals, with many dangers. The present-day deep crisis that has gripped

the capitalist and revisionist world system, and the great difficulties it has caused to this system, have sharpened all the contradictions of imperialism to the maximum. The wave of indignation, protest and revolt of the working class and the working masses in the capitalist countries against the attempts of the bourgeoisie to shift the burden of the crisis onto their backs and to preserve its profits intact, against ever rising prices and constantly worsening living conditions, — this revolutionary wave is on the rise and causing instability and political crises among the ruling circles of these countries.

A great demagogical clamour is being made everywhere about the «Helsinki spirit», which allegedly has led to the easing of tension. Neither Helsinki nor Belgrade, neither the endless talks about the disarmament have brought about the slightest sign of the lowering of tension on the international arena. On the contrary, the situation is worsening with every passing day.

The struggle of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and social-imperialism, against the remnants of colonialism and neo-colonialism as well as against the local reactionary forces — the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie, landowners and the fascist dictatorial regimes, for national liberation and sovereignty, for the realization of the democratic transformations on a revolutionary road and for social progress, is developing and rising uninterruptedly.

Though the great betrayal of the modern revisionists has caused colossal damage to the cause of the revolution, nevertheless, it has not been and

will never be able to stop the inevitable — the national liberation of the peoples and the revolution.

In face of the rising wave of the revolution, we notice that all the dark forces of the counter-revolution and regress, from imperialism and social-imperialism, reactionary and neo-fascist regimes, down to social-democracy and modern revisionists, Trotskyites and anarchists, opportunists and renegades of all hues, are rising in a desperate attempt to suppress, put down and divert it from the correct road and to prolong the life of the worn-out and rotten capitalist system which is giving up the ghost. This is a life-and-death struggle between the two worlds, imperialism and reaction, on the one hand, and socialism and the peoples, on the other hand.

The revisionist clique of Khrushchev and Brezhnev, which, after the death of Stalin, usurped power, restored capitalism and transformed the Soviet Union into a social-imperialist superpower, continues to play a very dangerous role in undermining the revolution. The source of all the evils in the international communist and workers' movement is the ill-famed 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and in many other countries which till then were socialist, the degeneration of the overwhelming majority of the former communist parties into revisionist ones, the creation of all kinds of revisionist currents, as is, among other things, also the so-called «Eurocommunism», which represents the dirtiest scum of revisionism and which expresses the anti-Marxist and anti-proletarian ideas more shamelessly and more openly than any other revisionist trend, have their source there.

Yugoslav revisionism was the forerunner of the 20th Congress and the first to establish its rule in its own country. For all this, Tito has the full right to boast of being the father of modern revisionism. Therefore all the revisionists, wherever they happen to be, render great honours to, and pompously welcome, him, consider him as their Saviour and God. But the stand towards Yugoslav revisionism has been and remains a touchstone which distinguishes the genuine Marxist-Leninists from the revisionists. The Albanian people say: «Birds of a feather flock together». To make common cause and reconcile ideologically with the Yugoslav leadership means not to be Marxist, but revisionist.

We see that in the revisionist and anti-Marxist jungle another theory has emerged — the theory of «three worlds», which is presented as a new theory, but which in fact is very old. We find the ideological roots of this theory in Bernstein, Kautsky, Trotsky, Bukharin. The theory of «three worlds» constitutes a very great danger for the international communist and workers' movement: it is the theory of the extinction of the revolution, the theory of unconditional capitulation before the bourgeoisie and allround alliance with US imperialism, it is the theory of the suppression of the liberation struggle of the peoples.

In fact this notorious theory has replaced the slogan of Marx, «Proletarians of all countries, unite!» and Lenin's slogan, «Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!», with the counter-revolutionary slogan, «Proletarians and peoples of all countries, bourgeois, reactionaries and fascists, wherever you are, unite under the leadership of US

imperialism, against Soviet social-imperialism!», as it has appealed and is appealing openly to the «third world and the second one to unite with half of the first world, with US imperialism, to fight against Soviet social-imperialism!». Today, one cannot find any slogan which is more reactionary.

The genuine communists, the proletarians and peoples are against the imperialist war. The historic task of the peoples, of the proletarians and communists is, as Lenin teaches us, to do the utmost to avoid the war between the imperialist powers, not by compromising with the local bourgeoisie, but rising against it, to impose on it the will of the people so as to prevent it from launching an imperialist war, and if a war between the imperialist powers becomes inevitable and breaks out, then the duty of the communists, proletarians and peoples is not to fight for the «defence of the Homeland», as the leaders of the Second International claimed and as the standard-bearers of the theory of «three worlds» are preaching today, but to turn an imperialist war into a civil war, into revolution, with the final aim to overthrow the local bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. If you do not bear in mind and do not apply these instructions and teachings of Lenin, you are against Leninism, a war-monger, and at the same time a fire extinguisher of the revolution, a servant of the international bourgeoisie.

The advocates of the theory of «three worlds» are rapidly exposing themselves with their pro-imperialist activity. All the peoples are understanding the real content of this theory. The peoples are seeing that the preachers of the theory of «three worlds»

have become the most zealous advocates and the most ardent defenders of the interests of US imperialism and the Western reactionary bourgeoisie, of all the world reaction. No people can accept the alliance with the local reactionary bourgeoisie, as the supporters of the theory of «three worlds» claim, submit themselves voluntarily to financial capital; no people of the so-called «third world» can accept the persistent demand of the supporters of this theory and strike an enslaving alliance with the colonialist bourgeoisie, which has suppressed and enslaved them to this day and which in one thousand and one ways tries to introduce its claws deeper and deeper into the flesh of the peoples, to suck their blood through new methods.

The theoreticians of «three worlds» proclaim that US imperialism is in decline, in retreat and on the defensive, while Soviet social-imperialism is thirsty for expansion and on the offensive, therefore, Soviet social-imperialism is more dangerous, while US imperialism is less dangerous to the peoples. This is the same as to say that the red wolf is more dangerous than the black wolf! But the peoples are not so much ignorant as the theoreticians of «three worlds» think.

It is clear to everybody that Soviet social-imperialism is a sworn enemy of the revolution and peoples. And who lowers his vigilance towards the danger of Soviet social-imperialism and does not fight against its enslaving plans, sooner or later, pays it very dearly. To cherish today illusions about Soviet social-imperialism, thinking that it may help the peoples and that it

allegedly does not hatch up plans for world domination, means to be short-sighted.

But on the other hand, US imperialism is not less dangerous. First of all, every imperialist country without exception, as long as it remains as such, is prone to reaction, violence, expansion, aggression. Imperialism does not change its aggressive nature; it retains its dangerousness even on the brink of the grave, in its death throes, and even more so, on the defensive and in retreat.

Besides, it is not at all true that US imperialism is on the defensive. It is in decay just as Soviet social-imperialism is, but not on the defensive or in retreat; it is always a savage aggressor, a ruthless oppressor and a blood-thirsty enslaver of its own people and the other peoples, an international gendarme, as Soviet social-imperialism, too, is.

Is it not US imperialism, which suppressed in blood the people of Korea, following the Second World War? Is it not US imperialism which suppressed in blood Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, until it was finally driven away by the heroic peoples of these countries? Does US imperialism not have a finger in the murder of 500 thousand Indonesian communists? Is it not US imperialism that suppressed in blood the Chilean people and brought to power the fascists in Chile? Is it not true that both the Soviet Union and the United States are gravely implicated in the tragedy that is taking place at present between Somalia and Ethiopia? Is it not US imperialism together with Soviet social-imperialism that instigated the grave situation in Cyprus and the terrible tragedy of the Arab-Israeli conflict?

Is it not true that wherever there are local wars, feuds between states on problems of borders or other major issues, wherever there are centres of tension, not only Soviet social-imperialism, but US imperialism as well is present and active? Is it US imperialism not the greatest exporter of capitals and arms in the world today? Does Uncle Sam maintain his hundreds of military bases in South Korea, Japan and Taiwan, the Franco Spain and in many countries of the world, seas and oceans, for peaceful aims? Does US imperialism carry out all these acts to defend itself and retreat?

No, US imperialism carries out all its activity not with the aim of retreating but of strengthening its positions as a superpower and ruler of the world and extending them further, as much as it can and wherever it can, to attack the peoples and rob them of their freedom. On its part, Soviet social-imperialism, as a new social-imperialism, is also thirsty for expansion. Herein lie all the irreconcilable contradictions and the permanent rivalry between them, as two superpowers, which want to divide the spheres of influence in the world.

Both these superpowers (and not only one of them) are hatching up plans in the Middle East to divide the Arab peoples, to sabotage the attainment of a just peace in that region, to liquidate the rights of the heroic Palestinian people, to use this prosperous and very important region each for its own imperialist interests.

While Sadat-Begin talks were going on in Jerusalem, in America Carter was praying in his Presbyterian church for the successful crowning of these

talks, and he did not do this for the good of the Arab peoples, but for the interests of US imperialism, hoping that in those talks imposed by him an agreement would be reached not in favour of the Arab peoples and the Palestinian people, but in favour of the US gangster the Israeli state is, an agreement which, far from forcing it to give up the Arab territories it has occupied, would deprive the much suffering and martyred Palestinian people of the right to live, maintain the Arab peoples always under the threat of the Israeli gang of assassins, put under their control the inexhaustible oil riches of that region. Is this a form of defence? Is this a retreat?

No one would be astonished if the advocates of «three worlds», with their «theoretical» acrobatic feats, dictated by selfish and conjunctural interests, one day turned to the Soviet social-imperialists and flirted with them, too. Anyone who deviates from the principled policy and pursues an anti-Marxist policy, cannot fail to be an unprincipled pragmatist, cannot fail to turn to the wind, according to the interest of the moment.

In these circumstances, the Party of Labour of Albania cannot keep silent and cannot fail to say the truth as it thinks it, because then it would stop being a Marxist-Leninist party. The pressure and blackmail, the curses full of hatred of various revisionists cannot dislodge our Party from its revolutionary positions. Since the day it was founded, our Party has never left the Marxist-Leninist trench. Others have abandoned that trench, but not the Party of Labour of Albania of Enver Hoxha. Therefore the people has dedicated

the following song to the Party: «Our Party, may your fame rise, for you did not move from your position!». And our Party will never move from its position!

The enemies and difficulties have not intimidated nor will they intimidate us. Our people are accustomed to fight in encirclement, to cope with and smash it with courage. A sound revolutionary situation exists with us. The inner unity of the Party round the Central Committee and comrade Enver Hoxha, as well as the unity of the people round the Party has never been as strong as it is today. This steel-like unity is the guarantee for the consistent implementation of the line of the Party, for the construction of socialism, for the defence of the Homeland, for the defence of Marxism-Leninism.

Relying on our own forces we have achieved brilliant results in all fields of life — ideology, production, education, everywhere. Unemployment, price-rises, degeneration, poverty, ignorance are on the other side of the barricade, they have no room in Albania. They thrive in the capitalist and revisionist countries.

But the Party teaches us that we should not sleep on laurels, never fall into self-complacency, never lose vigilance. The 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, which was held recently, arrived at the conclusion that in the present-day conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement of our country, when we are confronted with the ideological aggression of the bourgeoisie and modern revisionism of every hue, when we are working and living under the growing pressure of this ideology, the main danger for us is liberalism, without under-

rating the danger of bureaucratism. Therefore the duty for all of us is to live with these situations, to assess them correctly, the dangers and the tasks facing us. All of us must fight like revolutionaries for the realization of the tasks set by the historic 7th Congress of the Party, wage the class struggle frontally and consistently, against any alien manifestation of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, particularly against manifestations of liberalism.

In the new conditions, when other new important factors are being added to the imperialist-revisionist blockade against our country, the duty of all of us is to rise to our feet, and with the highest feeling of responsibility, fulfil all the targets of the state plan, all the tasks in the ideological, economic and military spheres. In steel-like Party-people unity round the Central Committee and comrade Enver Hoxha, we are stronger than any hostile force, than any obstacle and difficulty, and we are in a position to climb the mountain without gasping for breath, without stopping half-way, but advancing always courageously forward and upward, to socialism and communism.

The bourgeoisie and revisionism can never conceive how a small people and a small country can live free and independent without relying economically and militarily on a big state. This is a mentality created by the bourgeoisie in the course of centuries. But such a mentality is alien to Marxism-Leninism. This bourgeois and revisionist mentality makes many people in the capitalist and revisionist countries think that «the day will come when little Albania will turn her eyes for alms to Moscow or Washington or the capital of some other big coun-

try!». No, gentlemen, you are mistaken! Socialist Albania will never abandon its principled positions, it will never betray Article 28 of its Constitution, its allegiance to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, its road to socialism and communism. What it has created, was always done with its sweat, with the sweat of its people. Little Albania will certainly build socialism relying on its own forces, and in consistent revolutionary struggle against imperialism, with US imperialism at the head, against Soviet social-imperialism and modern revisionism of every hue and brand, together with all the proletarians and genuine communists of the world, together with all the peoples of the world.

We are on the right road. Our perspectives are brilliant. We will work still more to translate these perspectives into reality and will certainly make our Homeland more powerful and more prosperous, and the November 28 and 29 festivals will find us every year happier and stronger.

Once more wishing you happy November 28 and 29 festivals, I invite you, comrades, to drink this toast to:

our heroic people!

our glorious Party, which is courageously leading us on the road to socialism and communism!

the beloved leader of our Party and people, comrade Enver Hoxha!

the glory of Marxism-Leninism!

50 lekë

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